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BOUNDARY PERMEABILITY IN PERSPECTIVE

A Compendium of Conference Papers Submitted to the CCFPD

by

International Boundaries Research Unit
University of Durham

Fall 2000

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These papers were presented at *Permeable Borders And Boundaries In A Globalising World: New Opportunities Or Old Problems?* Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, August 25 – 27, 1999, organised by the International Boundaries Research Unit, University Of Durham, UK with the Department of National Defence, (Maritime Forces Pacific), Okanagan University College, Simon Fraser University, University of British Columbia and University College of the Cariboo

Introduction

A number of speakers explored the concept of boundary permeability, and raised concerns about its validity. *Gerald Blake* (University of Durham, UK) drew attention to the scarcity of data about boundary permeability worldwide. He cautioned against assumptions about the desirability of permeability in all circumstances, and the effect of permeability on state of sovereignty. *Martin Pratt* (University of Durham, UK) asked what factors affect permeability, and whether there are objective measures which would permit comparative studies of different boundaries. Emphasising the range of factors affecting permeability, both positive (when the state opens up the border) and negative (when the state fails to control the border), he concluded that a meaningful *"index of permeability"* remains beyond our reach. Not all speakers however were content with a literal-geographical approach to boundary permeability. *Glen Hearns* (University of British Columbia, Canada) discussed the effects of intellectual property rights in restricting the flow of genetic resources for food and agriculture. Such intellectual boundaries are in need of urgent reassessment, and run contrary to globalisation trends. *Stanley Brunn* (University of Kentucky, USA) also highlighted numerous ways in which international boundaries still matter, many of which can be measured, such as lifestyles, welfare of children, and the *"politics of plants and animals."*

In spite of all the excitement about a globalising world and the new opportunities it presents, there was inevitably considerable attention given to some old problems and possible solutions. *Joseph Schwartzberg* University of Minnesota) presented four possible options for a new regime along the Line of Control in Kashmir, developed by the Kashmir Study Group, and superbly presented in maps designed for dialogue. *Ian Townsend-Gault* (University of British Columbia, Canada) described the remarkable informal diplomacy which he and his colleagues have conducted in southeast Asia over several years, with particular reference to the South China Sea. This paper, together with that of *Alan Henrikson* (Tufts University, USA) left participants wanting to hear more about diplomacy, which is often overlooked in academic gatherings. Given certain conditions, Professor Henrikson argued that transfrontier diplomacy can ameliorate relations between border communities and between central governments.

Several speakers drew attention to the difficulties of managing permeable boundaries, using real-world examples. *Eberhard Bort* (Edinburgh University, UK) contrasted the internal and external frontiers of the European Union. Free movement between signatory states of the Schengen Agreement is a reality, but their external frontiers have become more *"fiercely controlled"* than ever. In the long run, effective control may be impossible to achieve along the margins of the European Union. North American contributors presented some equally striking results of research along the Canada-US and Mexico-US borders. *Theodore Cohn* (Simon Fraser University) has researched the San Diego-Tijuana (Mexico-US) and Cascadian (Vancouver-Seattle) border regions to examine the major obstacles to promoting a *"seamless"* border, such as regulations and disputes over the movement of trucks and people. Much has been achieved, but cross-border transport systems remain critical to the competitiveness of border regions. With greatly increased cross-border flows in Cascadia, *Donald Alper* (Western Washington University, USA) asked whether there is any evidence of the beginning of regional integration, and concluded that there is little interest in Cascadia as a concept deep down, and no signs of coherent cross-border community emerging. This may change however as *Alan Artibise* (University of British Columbia, Canada) suggested in his paper on the Cascadia Corridor Task Force, established by the Premier of British Columbia and the Governor of Washington in 1999. This will develop a border business plan, improve transport, agree joint policies on growth management, and encourage bi-national tourism.

Daniel Turbeville (Eastern Washington University, USA) and *Susan Bradbury* (Florida Atlantic University, USA) similarly underlined the need for improvement to NAFTA transportation corridors in Western North America. *Rosalba Linares* (Nottingham University, UK) presented a sobering case study of the Columbia-Venezuela border, where the Cartagena Agreement (1997) should facilitate free flow of goods. In 1999 a Venezuelan truck drivers' strike, allegedly because of unfair competition from Colombian drivers, resulted in suspension of the agreement.

Three speakers offered fresh perspectives on the debate about permeable boundaries and the globalisation process. *Matthew Coleman* (Carleton University, Canada) argued that our preoccupation with international boundaries as fences is strongly underpinned in the west by the fear of being overwhelmed by *"the wretched of the earth."* He challenged us to look beyond the fence, and to recognise that much of what goes on there, such as environmental degradation, is connected with what goes on inside the fence. Until they find ways of coping with scarcities globally, wealthy states will feel the necessity to reinforce their borders. *Steven Jackson* (Carleton University, Canada) reported on his research into *"technopoles"*, major concentration of high technology. A notable example is Malaysia's multi-media super corridor, (15 x 50 km), including two *"cyber cities."* The whole project is symbolic of the borderless world, but it is creating new kinds of barriers exemplified by the building workers from Bangladesh and Indonesia (for whom the borderless world is unreal) and the high technology technocrats (for whom the borderless world is virtual reality). *Valerie Assetto* (Colorado State University, USA) also reported surprising findings concerning problems of the Danube and Tisza rivers in central Europe, where Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia and Ukraine have proved reluctant to continue their erstwhile cooperation. These states are in effect reasserting their sovereignty in the face of globalisation.

Joe Painter (Durham University, UK) raised questions about the nature of citizenship in tomorrow's Europe where regions are gaining more political autonomy, and the European Union is playing an ever stronger role. The model of citizenship based on national identity and the traditional nation state no longer seems appropriate; it may one day give way to *"multi-level"* citizenship in Europe whose implications may be clearer when the speaker completes an Economic and Social Research Council project on this theme. *James Scott* (Institute for Regional Development, Berlin) spoke about transnational regionalism in Europe which is surprisingly far advanced, with over 60 regional projects. On the other hand most such regions are top-down subsidised schemes which have not grown from local grass roots, and are not as yet seriously challenging the nation state in Europe. *Anthony Asiwaju* (University of Lagos, Nigeria) and his African colleagues are following events in Europe with interest. Professor Asiwaju believes that the experience of Europe in transboundary cooperation could be applied to West Africa – for example to Borgo, partitioned between Benin and Nigeria.

Tom Edwards (Microsoft, USA) contrasted academic and corporate views of the borderless world, in an arresting paper on *"Information geopolitics."* While corporations are among the leading promoters of *"connectedness"* between peoples worldwide, they continue to encounter the realities of nationalism and territoriality in their operations. His specific example of having to publish particular versions of territorial disputes to please potential clients generated considerable discussion. *Robert Adamson* (UBC, Canada) argued that the role of borders is determined in part by the way in which law makers define their significance. Increasingly, policy makers are having to redefine their concepts of state sovereignty to deliver the social *"goods"* that laws are supposed to provide. International cooperation, and the extra-territorial application of domestic laws are striking examples. States will be forced to redefine sovereignty still further in the future, although borders will continue to have an important role.

Roy Bradshaw (Nottingham University, UK) sounded a note of caution about globalisation, based on research in Latin America which does not appear well placed to benefit. There are winners and losers in the globalisation process, and Latin America is among the losers on most counts. *Heather Nicol* (Okanagan University College, Canada) saw Caribbean integration as regional evidence of the globalisation process. After decades of political fragmentation, the Association of Caribbean States was established with objectives which go far beyond free trade and espouse multinationalism, and the creation of a Caribbean Sea is

recognised as *"common heritage"*, and the putative maritime boundary system is being downgraded in favour of cooperation. *Martin Whittles* (University College of the Caribboo, Canada) brought further evidence of permeable boundaries from the circumpolar north where the new Inuit Circumpolar Conference is now effectively promoting Inuit interests in five countries. This development is in stark contrast to the 1960s onwards when the Inuit were unable to permeate international boundaries.

A number of papers reported attempts to find new solutions to old problems. *Clive Schofield* (Durham University, UK) reviewed maritime transboundary cooperative ventures in Southeast Asia. *Austen Morgan* (UK) described the implications of the Belfast Agreement for the Anglo-Irish border. *William Wood* (US Department of State) illustrated how GIS has been an effective tool in cross-border crisis management, especially in preparation for humanitarian intervention; *"when it comes to humanisation intervention it is not a borderless world." John Roberts* (Financial Times, UK) examined attempts to find safe alignments for oil pipelines from the Caspian region where regional conflicts, not international boundaries, are the main deterrent to investors.

Characteristically, *David Newman* (Ben Gurion University, Israel) tried to make sense of the wealth of ideas and information presented in this conference. Like most contributors, he does not believe that *"deterritorialisation"* is happening. Territory and its physical delimiters – boundaries – clearly remains important in the formation of ethnic and national identities. While some boundaries are opening up, elsewhere new boundaries are being created as ethno-territorial conflicts are fought out and resolved. Our approach to boundaries needs to be multidimensional, as so many papers in the conference demonstrated. There are, however, many questions about boundaries in the new world order yet to be answered. Not surprisingly, therefore, *Victor Konrad* (US-Canada Fulbright Program, Ottawa) was eagerly listened to when he spoke about *"cross-border research and funding issues."*

Over the Borders of the Borderless World

List of Papers

I. New Opportunities/Old Problems

The World Political Map: Are the Colours Fading or is our Vision Impaired?
Professor Gerald Blake
Director,
International Boundaries Research Unit,
University of Durham,
Durham, UK

Information Geopolitics: Blurring the Lines of Sovereignty
Mr. Tom Edwards
Geographer,
Microsoft Corporation,
Seattle, Washington, USA

Law, Sovereignty and Trans-nationalism: Competing Trends in Global and Domestic Justice*
Mr. Robert Adamson

II: Redefining the Functions of Boundaries in the Americas

Caribbean Integration and the Global Context*
Professor Heather Nicol
Department of Geography,
Okanagan University College,
Kelowna, B.C., Canada

Making the Circle Complete Once Again: Original Peoples, Permeable Boundaries and Globalisation in the Circumpolar North*
Dr. Martin Whittles
Department of Social and Environmental Studies,
University College of the Cariboo,
Kamloops, B.C., Canada

Re-Defining the Functions of Boundaries in the Americas: A Latin American Perspective
Dr. Roy Bradshaw,
Department of Geography,
University of Nottingham, UK

III: Regionalism and Sub-Regionalism in Europe

European Borders in Transition: The Internal and External Frontiers of the European Union
Mr. Eberhard Bort,
Associate Director, International Social Sciences Institute,
University of Edinburgh, UK

Citizenship, Identity and the Nation State : Regional Identity and European Citizenship
Dr. Joe Painter,
Department of Geography,
University of Durham, UK

Transnational Regionalism and European Integration*
Dr. James Scott,
Research Associate and Project-Co-ordinator,
Institute for Regional Development and Structural Policy, Berlin, Germany

Session IV: Emerging Perspectives

Trans-Frontier Regionalism: The European Union
Perspective on Post-Colonial Africa With Special
Reference to Partitioned Borgu*
Professor Anthony Asiwaju,
Department of History,
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Transboundary Co-operative Endeavours in
Southeast Asia*
Dr. Clive Schofield,
Deputy Director,
International Boundaries Research Unit, Durham, UK

Permeating Boundaries: Ecosystem /Intellectual Property Protection*
Mr. Glen Hearns,
Centre for Asian Legal Studies,
University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, Canada

Session V: A Borderless North America?

Transportation and Competitiveness in North America: The Cascadian and San Diego-Tijuana Border Regions
Professor Ted Cohn,
Department of Political Science,
Simon Fraser University

Conflicts, Transboundary Visions and Agendas: Economic and Environmental "Cascadians"
Professor Donald Alper,
Director of Canadian and Canadian-American Studies, Western Washington University

Trans-border Issues in Cascadia: The B.C. - Washington Corridor Task Force*
Professor Alan Artibise,
University of British Columbia

NAFTA and Transportation Corridor Improvement in Western North America: Restructuring for the 21st Century*
Dr. Daniel E. Turbeville
Department of Geography,
Eastern Washington University,
Cheney, Washington,
and

Dr. Susan Bradbury,
Florida Atlantic University,
Department of Urban & Regional Planning,
Florida Atlantic University,
Davie, Florida, USA

Cross Border Research and Funding Issues*
Dr. Victor Konrad,
US-Canadian Fulbright Program,
Ottawa

VI: Fresh Perspectives on Old Boundary Issues

Managing International Capital Flows*
Mr. William Stormont,
Graduate Student,
Faculty of Commerce,
University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, Canada

Ecological Degradation and the Scarcity-Conflict Methodology
Mr. Mathew Coleman,
Institute for Political Economy, Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada

Case Study of Columbia-Venezuelan Boundary Issues*
Ms. Rosabla Linares,
Graduate Student,
University of Nottingham,
UK

Technopoles and Development in a Borderless World:
Boundaries Erased, Boundaries Constructed
Mr. Steven Jackson
Institute for Political Economy,
Carleton University,
Ottawa, Canada

VII: Intractable Disputes

Permeable Border/Impermeable Sovereignties: International Rivers in Central Europe*
Dr. Valerie J. Assetto
Department of Political Science,
Colorado State University,
Fort Collins, Colorado, USA

Permeating the Irish Border: Practical North-
South Co-operation Under the Belfast Agreement
Dr. Austen Morgan,
Barrister, UK

Kosovo/Yugoslavia/Iraq*
Mr. John Roberts
Financial Times,
London, UK

VIII: Conceptual Issues

Can the Permeability of Borders Be Measured?*
Mr. Martin Pratt,
Research Officer,
International Boundaries Research Unit,
Durham, UK

De-territorialisation or Re-territorialisation: The Changing Role of Boundaries in a Globalised World*
Professor David Newman,
Head of Department of Politics and Government,
Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

The Geopolitics of Life and Living: Where Boundaries Still Matter*
Dr. Stanley D. Brunn and Dr. John F. Watkins,
Department of Geography
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky.

IX: Problems and Process

Refugees and Kosovo
Dr. William Wood,
Director, Office of the Geographer,
United States Department of State,
Washington D.C., USA

***Facing Across Borders: The Diplomacy of* Bon Voisinage**
Professor Alan Henrikson
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Tufts University

When Boundaries are off the Agenda: Informal Diplomacy in the South China Sea
Professor Ian Townsend-Gault,
Director, Centre for Asian Legal Studies,
University of British Columbia, Vancouver,
Canada

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Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

Renewing Partnerships for the Prevention of Armed Conflict: Options to Enhance Rapid Deployment and Initiate a UN Standing Emergency Capability. Peter Langille, Global Human Security Ideas and Initiatives. Fall 2000.

Report from the Roundtable on Expert Deployment to International Peace Operations. CCFPD. September 12, 2000.

Canadian Peacebuilding in the Middle East: Case Study of the Canada Fund in Israel/Palestine and Jordan. Tami Amanda Jacoby, University of Manitoba. Fall 2000.

Les Enterprises canadiennes et la consolidation de la paix. Jean-Francois Rioux, Francisco-José Valiente, and Christian Geiser, Université du Québec a Montréal. Le 31 octobre 2000.

Nuclear Weapons and Small Arms

Ballistic Missiles Foreign Experts Roundtable Report. Ernie Regehr, Project Ploughshares and Peter Moore, CCFPD. March 30, 2000.

NATO-Nuclear Weapons Roundtable Report. CCFPD. August 24-25, 2000.

Small Arms and the OAS Roundtable Report. CCFPD. April 28, 2000.

Examen des récentes initiatives gouvernementales et d'ONG concernant les armes légères et appréciation sur leur efficience: proposition pour un indice de sécurité individuelle (ISI). Frances Gaudreault et al. Summer 2000.

Globalization and Firearms: A Public Health Perspective. Wendy Cukier et al. Fall 2000.

Borders

Perspectives on the Borderless World: Issues for Canada. Heather Nicol and Ian Townsend-Gault. Fall 2000.

New Diplomacy

Report from the Roundtable on Just War and Genocide. CCFPD. December 8-9, 2000.

Report from the Ottawa Roundtable for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). CCFPD. January 15, 2001.

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Children's Rights
Children and Violent Conflict: Meeting the Challenge of Diversity. Erin Baines, Dalhousie University; Barry Burciul, University of Toronto. Summer 2000.

Business and Labour
Canadian Firms, Canadian Values. Canadian Business for Social Responsibility. May 2000.

Africa
Report from the Ottawa Nigeria Roundtable. CCFPD. March 20, 2000.

Asia-Pacific
APEC Media Monitoring Report: A Synopsis of Key Findings from IMPACS' 1999 Youth Internship Project. Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society. 2000.

Report from the Burma and Drugs Roundtable. CCFPD. May 15, 2000.

Report from the North Korea Roundtable. CCFPD. January 22, 2001.

Report from the Victoria Roundtable on Indonesia. CCFPD. March 13, 2000.

Europe
Report on Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century Roundtable. CCFPD. February 14, 2000.

Americas
Canada, Indigenous Peoples and the Hemisphere Roundtable Report. CCFPD. March 23, 2000.

CCFPD Summary Report: The Americas. CCFPD. Fall 2001.
Rapport de syntèse du CCDPE: les Amériques. CCFPD. Fall 2001.

Threats to Democracy in America. Max Cameron, Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL). March 3-4, 2000.

Report from the Roundtable on Governance, Civil Society and the Americas. CCFPD. January 28, 2000.

Report from the Roundtable on Canada-Cuba Relations. CCFPD. January 18, 2000.

Look Ahead to Windsor Roundtable Report (OAS). CCFPD. April 26, 2000.

Culture
Commerce International et diversité culturelle: la recherche d'un dificile équilibre. Ivan Bernier, Université Laval and Dave Atkinson. 2000.

Circumpolar Issues
Roundtable on Northern Foreign Policy: Feedback and Look Ahead. CCFPD. February 5, 2001.

Foreign Policy Research
Gendered Discourses, Gendered Practices: Feminists (Re)Write Canadian Foreign Policy. Claire Turenne Sjolander, University of Ottawa; Heather Smith, University of Northern British Columbia; Deborah Stienstra, University of Winnipeg. May and July 2000.